/10 cont./

128 — the great leaders of Muridism, their present situation, their influence on the movement, their reciprocal rivalries, their relations with the Administration;

— the importance of Muridism and its influence on the economic, social, and political life of Senegal.

/11/ Then we shall try, in conclusion, to envisage the prospects for the future which present themselves to Muridism today.

*795 ●778 [361] Touba is therefore the center of the Murid brotherhood. Amadou Bamba founded it in 1886, a few kilometers from the village of M'Backé (itself created by his grandfather, M'Balla M'Backé) and about 60 kilometers east of Diourbel, at the edge of Baol and the Ferlo desert, in a vast plain with bleak horizons and a sparse population.

The Murids attribute a holy and miraculous origin to the city, the Angel Gabriel himself having revealed the site to Amadou Bamba after conducting him there in a mysterious and supernatural fashion.

Amadou Bamba's difficulties with the Administration did not permit him to reside in this remote and isolated place where his activities were hard to control, but his body has reposed there since his death in 1927.

The agglomeration Touba-M'Backé-Darou forms the heart of the Murid country, and Touba is the ideal capital; indeed, it is now, for the disciples of Amadou Bamba:

— the headquarters of the brotherhood,

— a center of Koranic studies,

— a sort of monastery,

— a place of pilgrimage.

*795 793 It is at Touba that the Caliph-general resides. All of his collateral relatives and descendants, as well as all of the great Murid marabouts, have residences there, although they do not live there continually. It is there that the administrative council of the brotherhood meets to make important decisions concerning the Murid community.

/11 cont./

*795 [793] It is to Touba that the young Murids come to learn the Koran; each marabout there has his own school which forms his young talibés.

It is in Touba also that, grouped around their marabout (or his residence), the faithful dwell, those who wish to live a holier life in permanent contact with their religious leader and working each day for them and with them.

[788] [778] It is to Touba, finally, that every good Murid must go once a year in order to pray at the tomb of the founding saint of the brotherhood, at that of the khalife /caliph/, first successor, and especially in order to pay a visit to the present Caliph-general and to give him the offerings intended in particular for the continuation of the work on the mosque; this is the Magal of which we shall speak again below.

361 *795 /12/ The city appears like a great "escale" /commercial center/ of the bush. Wide avenues separate the vast carrés /compounds/ of the various marabouts from one another. A plan for division into lots was drawn up, but it has not yet been applied, Falilou M'Backé, the Caliph-general, having feared, at the last moment, the far-reaching consequences.

Touba is thus a great center. Its development and the considerable number of persons who come there for the Magal have [312] necessitated special arrangements. Drillings have been made in order to ensure the water supply of the holy city, which is, more- [496] over, linked to M'Backé and Diourbel by a railroad. On the other hand, no commercial establishment has settled in Touba, and the trading center has been fixed at M'Backé.

346 *795 Touba's center of attraction is its mosque, an Islamic monument unique in Senegal.

It was Amadou Bamba himself who decided to have it constructed, and in 1926 he asked his faithful to bring the first stones for it to Touba, but it was Amadou Mustapha, his son and first successor, who began the first work on it, after receiving by lease from the Administration a piece of ground of 400 hectares on which he could build it.

/13 cont./

346 These minarets have been finished since 1956, and one can climb to their summits, from where one discovers the panorama of Touba and the surrounding plain.

346 798 From the mosque there is direct access to the tomb of Amadou Bamba, which is in a mausoleum built into the north-east corner of the building beside the great prayer room. The tomb proper (covered by velvet hangings embroidered with Koranic sayings stitched into arabesques) is in the middle of the mausoleum; it is surrounded by wrought-iron grillwork which keeps visitors at a distance, while at the same time allowing many of them to contemplate the saint's tomb. The ground all around the tomb is covered with fine, sifted sand, replaced continually to keep it clean.

The tomb of the first caliph, Amadou Moustapha, is located outside the mosque on the east façade several meters from the wall. The mausoleum resembles a little bungalow; one enters it directly from the outside, without going through the mosque. Here, too, the tomb is hidden behind embroidered hangings.

[782] These places are redolent of an atmosphere of contemplation. The air is heavy with the perfume of the incense burned constantly before the tombs.

*795 796 At Touba, the great Moslem religious celebrations are particularly prominent. Thus the faithful come from quite far away (when they can) in order to celebrate at Touba rather than elsewhere the Corytée, the Tabaski, or the Gamou (1).

1. These three celebrations correspond respectively to the Aid el Fitr, the Aid el Kebir, and the Mouloud of Islamic tradition.

[788] But the great celebration of Touba, the specifically Murid solemnity /14/ which every good talibé tries to attend every year if possible, is the Magal.

/15 cont./

788 style, violently colored like our Épinal pictures and representing
*795 the holy places of Islam or personages of Koranic tradition.
[438] Finally, to complete this immense and noisy fair over which
[443] floats an impalpable dust, there, in a corner of the city not far from the mosque, are the keepers of the cook-shops: they cook
[265] in the open the appetizing dishes which they will offer at modest prices to the famished pilgrims.

Evening does not slow down these activities; on the contrary, the pilgrims regroup at the homes of the various marabouts, and sessions of religious songs are organized there. They will
[533] last far into the night, which will resound until dawn with these litanies amplified by numerous loud-speakers.

/16/ In the course of this pilgrimage, the believers have several obligations to fulfill:

1) to call on the Caliph-general,

2) to go to meditate at the tomb of Amadou Bamba and that of Amadou Moustapha,

3) to visit the mosque,

4) to go to see their own marabout,

5) to visit at the cemetery the Sacred Tree and the graves
[778] of certain deceased notables of the brotherhood.

At the entrance to the carré of the Caliph, the faithful, in a long line, patiently await their turn to go into the residence of their supreme spiritual leader.

After passing through several walls (at the gate of which are talibé-cashiers who claim their offerings from them), they arrive at the hut in which the Caliph receives.

The circle guards maintaining order have them enter one by one into the straw hut where Falilou awaits them, assisted by his secretary and some of his close collaborators. Each pilgrim kneels before the Caliph while presenting to him his offering (hadia), which the sérigne will immediately have passed on to one of his followers. The pilgrim then rises and goes out in order to give his place to another.

His visit to the Caliph ended, he goes to the sacred tombs
[778] of Amadou Bamba and Amadou Moustapha.

/16 cont./

At the tomb of the Master there is always a pious crowd whose meditation, even though sincere, allows the joy at being in so famous and holy a place to show through. If they can, the pilgrims walk around the tomb three times while reciting the consecrated formula: "In the name of God the Clement, the Merciful. May God bless our Lord Mohammed, the Envoy of God, and save him." Then each of them puts down his mite and takes a handful of the sand surrounding the base of the tomb, which is regarded as a powerful talisman capable of extricating the one who possesses it from every difficult situation.

On the tomb of Amadou Moustapha the pilgrim meditates and leaves a small offering, but does not pick up any sand.

One does not leave these holy places without spending a moment in the mosque.

The latter, during the whole pilgrimage, never empties; people come and go, chat there, and rest there. It is no longer a place of prayer and meditation; for the moment it is a work-yard which one visits, rather than a sacred monument where one meditates, but, the visit ended, one returns from there proud of knowing the greatest mosque in Senegal, proud of having climbed to the top of its minarets.

/17/ Upon leaving there, the pilgrims go, in groups or alone, to the home of the marabout to whom they are directly attached, and they also take an offering to him.

The last trip of the pilgrimage is the visit to the cemetery. This is laid out around the Sacred Baobab (Goui Tékhé), at the foot of which Amadou Bamba had the supernatural vision "of the fish which supports the world," indicating to him that he had indeed arrived at the place where he was to build Touba. A little enclosure marks the site where he had that vision. The most educated and the most pious pilgrims meditate and pray there; the others, and especially the women, content themselves with visiting the graves, particularly those of Aminata Lo, wife of the Founder and mother of Amadou Moustapha, of Babacar M'Backé, son of the Sérigne Bamba, dead at an early

/17 cont./

788 age, of Massamba and M'Bara M'Backé, half brothers /on the
*795 father's side/ of the same Sérigne. They will go also to the
778 graves of the first marabouts of the brotherhood and of the first disciples of the Master, Ali Touré, Ibrahima Sarr, Assana N'Diaye, and they will stop longer at that of the beloved disciple, Ibra Fall, at the entrance of which is planted the hir, the historic stake with which was marked the site of the tomb of Amadou Bamba after the miraculous vision which we mentioned above.

There, too, in front of each grave, talibé-cashiers do not stop soliciting the generosity of the pilgrims.

788 When these ritual visits are over, the talibé is purified and
*795 sanctified. If he has any time left, it is possible for him to go back to the city and mingle with the crowd of pilgrims. He can also collaborate in the construction of the mosque by breaking pieces of laterite (huge piles of which are to be found near the mosque and are used in the making of the concrete) ... unless he lingers to watch some fanatic of the Murid branch of
[785] the M'Baye Fall devote himself to flagellation exercises ... with a millet pestle.

At sundown he will participate with all the pilgrims in the
[782] salam du Maghreb (evening prayer); this is the only moment in the day when the 200,000 pilgrims assemble in front of the mosque for a common prayer.

The last day of the pilgrimage is thus the "Official Day." It is called this because the Caliph invites to it all the personalities and all the authorities of the circle of Diourbel, of Senegal, of the Government-general, of the official as well as of the private milieus. All accept this invitation, and those who cannot attend send representatives.

This day essentially requires an official ceremony which takes place in the middle of the morning. The Caliph, escorted /18/ by his most notable guests and followed by the crowd of the others, makes his way to a platform sheltered by canopies and erected in the plaza of the mosque, on which everyone

[8]

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All of the methods currently used in the different regions of Senegal to promote dreaming bear traces of the influence of Moslem beliefs, often distorted by local superstitions.

For centuries the work of Mohamed Ibn-Sirina (died in 110 A.H.), an Arab scholar of old regarded as the foremost of [791] the great mou'abbirs (interpreters of dreams) in the whole Moslem world, has served as the basis for this science. This work, supplied with few examples, brings together the most common types of interpretations and establishes universal rules that are still valid today.

Later, another Arab scholar (Cheïka Abdoul Khaniyou of Nabili Chiyou) revised and completed the work of Ibn Sirina; he collected and classified the various dreams in logical categories according to their subject (things, .animals, persons, supernatural beings ...) in an important work: Taatire El-Ana mbitâbir El-Manam (= To make the world happier by the interpretation of dreams). Subsequently, Eddemiri in his great work entitled Hayatou el-Hayaouan (in two volumes) has given precise and exhaustive interpretations concerning the dreams in which animals figure.

[791] These are the two sources of classical information most often utilized by the interpreters of Senegalese dreams. The traditional religion, however, continues to exert an indisputable influence upon them.

Some of the practices that we are going to point out [9] by means of examples show this same influence. Utilized to evoke dreams, one finds them throughout Senegal.

Place: It is always essential that the place where one lies down is the most suitable one possible. In a place where a Moslem may not pray, one cannot hope to have a dream.

In the canton of Kahône (Bas-Saloum [Lower Saloum]),a region little Islamized, the women go at night to lie down near the ancient tombs.

The Ouolof [Wolof] of Cayor, with the same aim, visit [778] the tomb of the great marabout El Hadj Malick Sy at Tivaouane; the people of Baol go to the one of Sérigne Amadou Bamba M'Backé at Touba in the region north of Diourbel.

[9 cont.]

787 After having recited the required prayers, one expresses his particular desire in a whisper while shielding the mouth with the right hand.

Then one lies down in a quiet and suitable place, on the right side, placing the right hand under the ear.

787 278 [791] Drugs and substances: Many drugs are provided for facilitating dreaming, sometimes by the mou'abbirs (who are relatively very rare in Senegal) and sometimes by other experienced persons.

The use of the roots of bakis or of sindiègne (a kind of creeping plant common in the western part of Senegal) is very widespread; if one falls asleep with a toothpick of bakis or sindiègne in his mouth, he will have frightful visions in which demons, the dead, and supernatural beings appear.

The same result is obtained if, before lying down, one takes a solution of salted water in which roots of sindiègne have fermented for quite a long time, the effect of which is both purgative and stimulative.

[308] Among other substances, the extract called kaouline (sometimes used in the form of a lotion for the face), liquid myrrh, opium, etc. should be mentioned.

787 [787] More rarely, fumigation is practiced in a sealed and isolated hut, in which honey or incense is burned. Obviously, in this case, the procedure may be completed by one of the above practices.

[778] [789] Magical means: Throughout Senegal (as is well-known) one finds an enormous number of talismans (for example, the khâtim, magical designs made up of names, characters, and figures which possess a kind of supernatural power), the aim of which is to evoke favorable dreams; their form varies according to the desire that the believer wants to realize.

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